THE BLACK PANTHER

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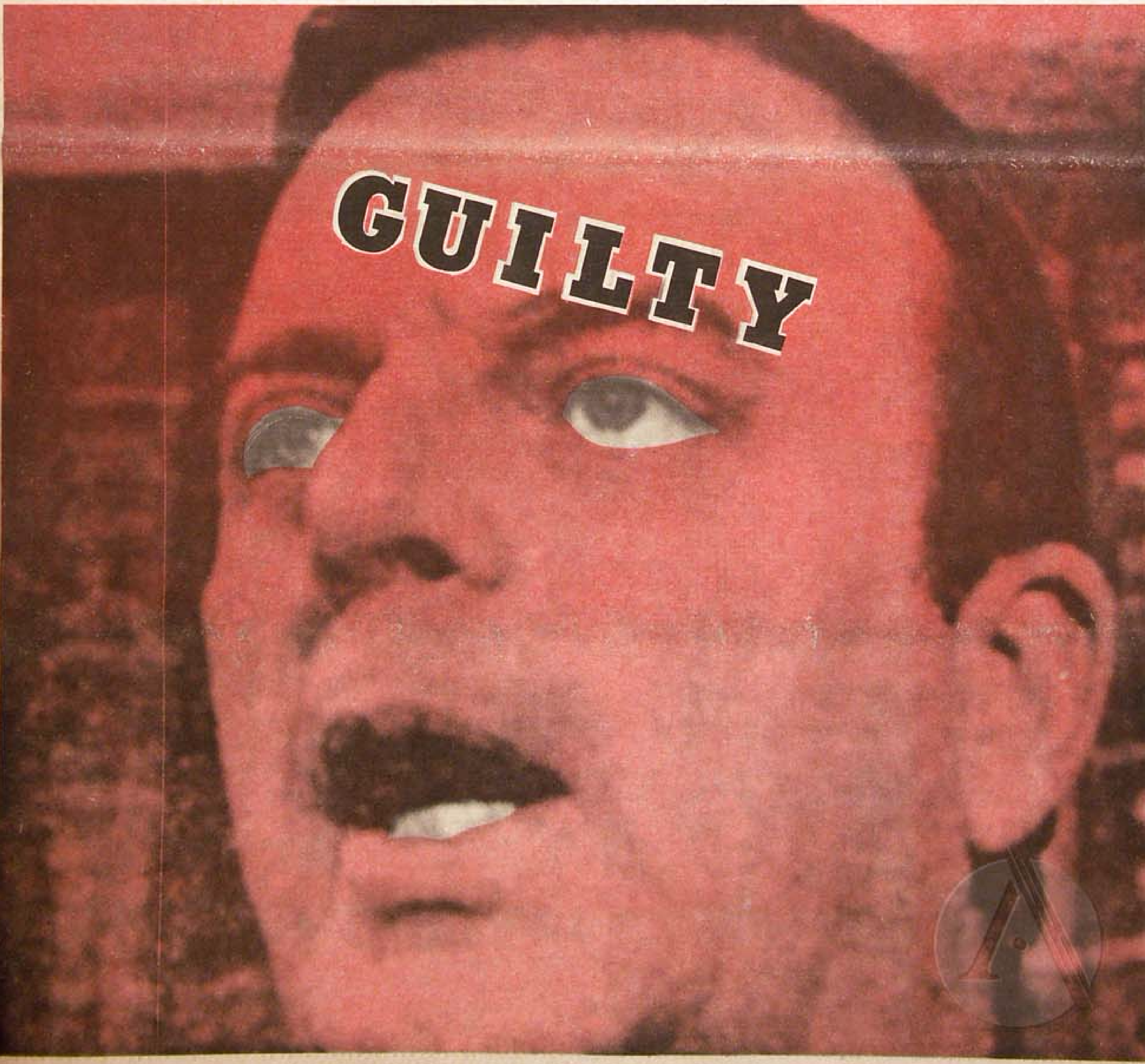
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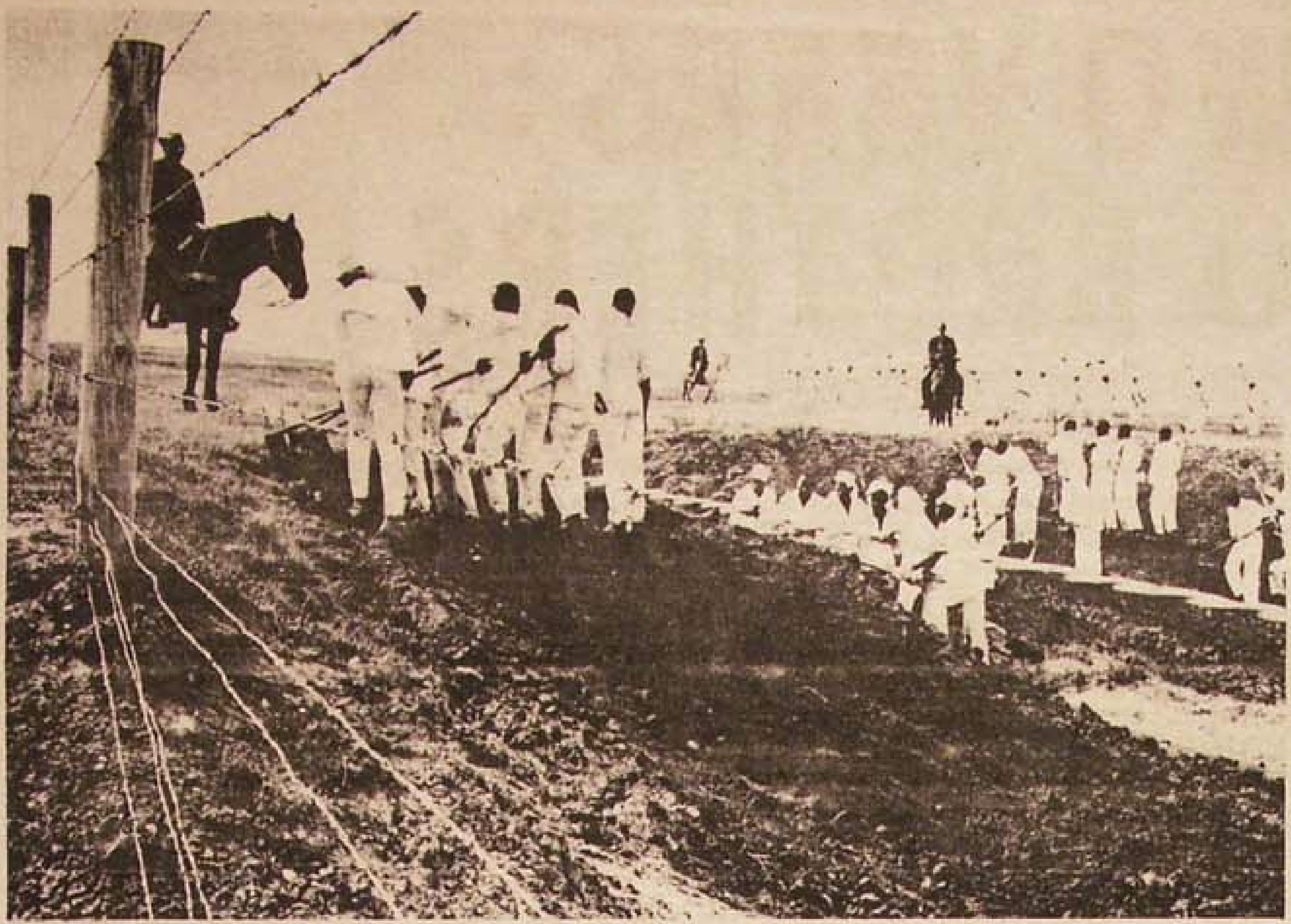
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NO HANDS FOR HANRAHAN!

FASCIST CHICAGO MURDERER EDWARD V. HANRAHAN RUNS FOR RE-ELECTION





Won't have to send the "nigger dogs" after Willie Stewart. Won't have to worry about him fainting in the sun. Won't really have to worry about Willie Stewart anymore. They say.

"NIGGER DOG" CAN'T GET WILLIE STEWART

The brutal and murderous practices in the prison camps near urban areas across the United States have begun to be exposed. People know of the barbarous and inhumane nature of Attica (New York), San Quentin (California), and Joliet-Statesville (Illinois) prisons.

However, the nightmares of "southern justice", the work farms and the chain gangs, have been largely ignored. The U.S. Government and its press would have people believe that such horrors, such concentration camps as these, no longer exist. Since the 1968 exposure of the Arkansas Prison Farm at Cummins, Arkansas, when skeletons of unknown inmates (murdered by vicious, racist guards) were discovered, there has hardly been a mumbling word about the South's vicious prison work camps. The realities of southern prison life have instead been relegated to history books along with the tales of the hanging tree and the lynch mobs. A vigorous propaganda campaign by some southern racist-fascists has attempted to present a new image, one of an "enlightened South". However, the chain gang, the work teams, the "Nigger Dogs" (dogs trained by racists to catch Black people running away from the "master") still exist in the New South.

Seventeen year old Brother Willie Stewart was convicted of burglary in Circuit Judge Maupin Cummings' Court in Fayetteville, Arkansas. He was given a "light sentence": Three years suspended (no prison time to be served), with the exception of one day, to be spent at the Cummins Prison Farm in Cummins, Arkansas.

Willie Stewart entered through the gates of Cummins Farm on November 29, 1971. As he entered, he was chased by a car and shot at. He was made to dunk his head and body into a pool of water. He was slapped and beaten. He was made to do thirty-one minutes of push-ups; jump up and down, pressing a hoe to his head; and ordered to keep up with the two fastest cotton pickers in the prison. His hair was clipped and he was made to wear pants which were several sizes too large. He was finally dumped on to a floor by guards who decided he was faking illness.

Willie Stewart died on the way to a hospital. Prison officials told his mother that something he ate "disagreed" with him, and he just died.

Willie is not an isolated victim of this "enlightened prison program" for youth. This program, of which Judge Cummings was one of the originators, is used throughout Arkansas for "first time youth offenders". The alleged purpose of this program is to "discourage" youth from ever returning to prison. In reality, young people who are being railroaded through Arkansas courts are sentenced to one day at the infamous prison farm, where racists attempt to murder them.

Under this plan, up-holders of the Southern system of law and order are currently sending 10 - 15 young brothers a month to Cummins. The real aim of this program to "discourage" the youth from ever "returning" is summed up in the racist attitude of Arkansas Corrections Commissioner, Terrell Don Hutto, speaking in reference to Cummins' Prison Farm, "We have trouble makers, but no revolutionaries." When asked about the vicious and inhuman treatment meted out to the prisoners at Cummins, Hutto stated that the shooting and the one-day program were an "established pattern" when he arrived, and it "just continued"; and further, that the program was not so brutal as described.

Federal Judges have "ordered" such practices stopped. Local people have complained and demanded investigations of such inhuman tactics. A member of the State Prison Board, after hearing an ex-prisoner's complaints, called Hutto on September 29, 1971, warning him against such practices. Hutto promised to "look into" the matter. It still hadn't been looked into by the time Willie Stewart arrived for his one-day term at Cummins.

Typical of Southern courts and justice, the prison camps and work farms are run and operated by deranged racists. These advocates of racist, rural law and order do not even bother to put up a facade of human conditions and treatment at these slave-labor camps.

Whether southern racists wish to acknowledge it or not, they are still a part of this Empire. The struggle to free all political prisoners will be waged all over the United States until this society is transformed into a human one.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

TWO YEARS: TWO BROTHERS



BROTHER FLEETA DRUMGO

It has been two long years now, since January 13, 1970, since January 16, 1970. Two Brothers have barely survived the events of those times. We must not let them have these two also.

Sometimes things get cluttered, by slick words and the outright lies of the oppressor. On January 13th, 1970, some prisoners were let out for exercise on a yard in a California prison. It was Soledad Prison. These prisoners had been locked away a long time. There were Blacks and whites. This was the first time, in a racially tense situation, these men had been together in a long time. Instantly, the fighting started. Immediately after, the shots startled everyone. A sniper, a guard, O.G. Miller, had accurately placed rifle rounds into the bodies of three of the prison's most cherished Black Brothers. They were killed. W.L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards and Alvin Miller had been outright murdered on the yard at Soledad Prison.

Three days later, January 16th, it was called justifiable homicide. Within minutes, another guard, John Mills, was found dead inside the prison. It was called revenge, as though Mills could be equated with the three beautiful Black Comrades. Only one of their number had gone down, yet there was no talk of justifiable homicide. Some Blacks had to pay.

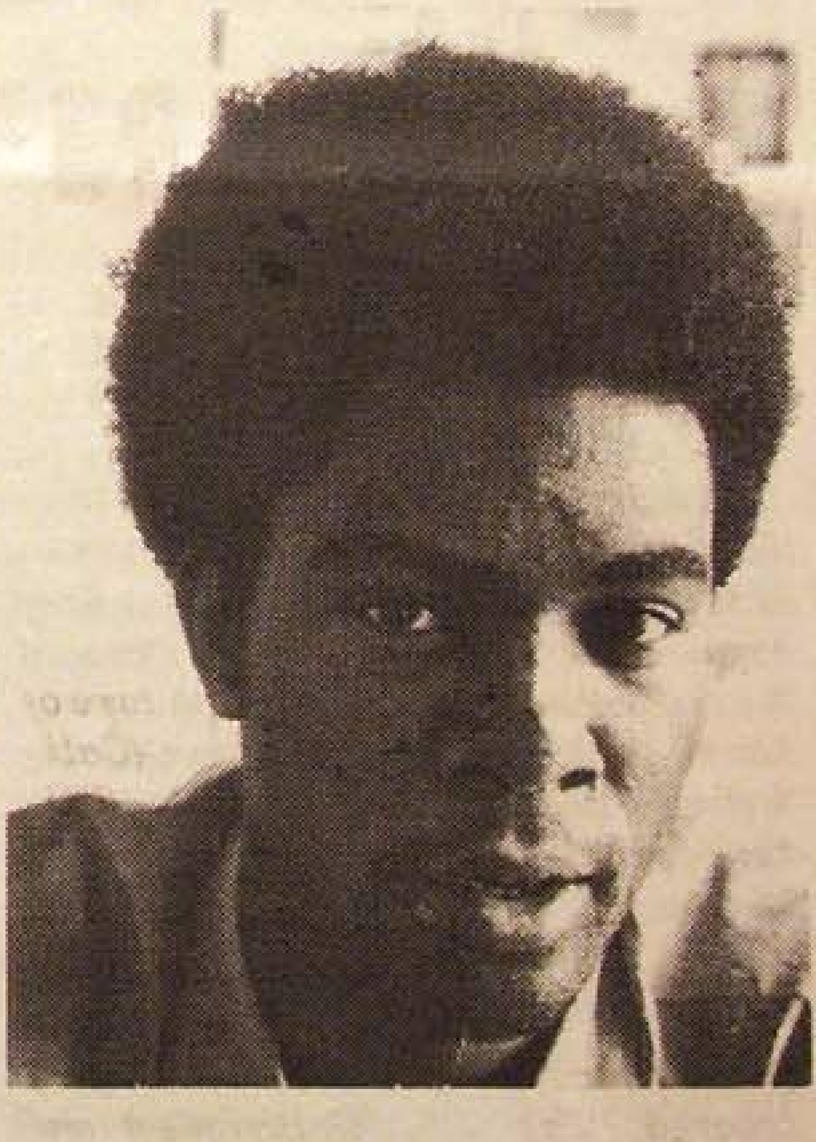
George Lester Jackson had brought them "trouble" all the years he had been there. Comrade George, along with Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette were, within a week, confined, under even worse conditions than usual, as "prime suspects" in the killing of Mills. No one even knew about it, until about three weeks later, when Brother John Clutchette's desparate note to his family reached the outside: "Help! Life in Danger!"

They became the Soledad Brothers. The very idea of prosecuting them was preposterous: So-called witnesses had been quickly transferred out of Soledad and scattered among several other institutions, leaving no one for attorneys to interview, the alleged scene of Mills' killing had been quietly rennovated, so that a defense lawyer could not even properly review the area; there was no real evidence to be reviewed. They were being charged with having survived too well.

George Jackson had been there the longest. He had been there, in prison, since he was 18. He was 27 years old then. He had been falsely convicted (with no help from a Pasadena, California public defender) of having driven a car away from the scene of a $70. gas station robbery. Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette (both nearing parole dates) had been there for burglary (Clutchette for possessing a stolen T.V. set). Theirs were somewhat typical cases. However, these men had refused to bow down, to bend to the prison administration's will, to forfeit their manhood. They had survived too well. They were good candidates for Mills' killing, to pay with their lives for Mills' life.

It had all come down to that. Support eventually flourished from everywhere, from the People: Free the Soledad Brothers! The People knew what was happening. Comrade George Jackson's prison letters had been published in a book, and became widely distributed. The lies were being exposed left and right. Saving the Soledad Brothers' lives was becoming an important issue among many American people, among many of the world's peoples.

Two days before the trial was scheduled to begin, August 21st, 1971, George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, was murdered, out-right murdered, by San Quentin prison guards, officials, administrators. Comrade George Jackson was assassinated at San Quentin. Three guards and two inmate trustees had also gone down. The State was pleased, although its enforcers had done a poor job of covering up evidence. Therefore, the State needed more Brothers, more inmates, to now cover up its further crime. Six



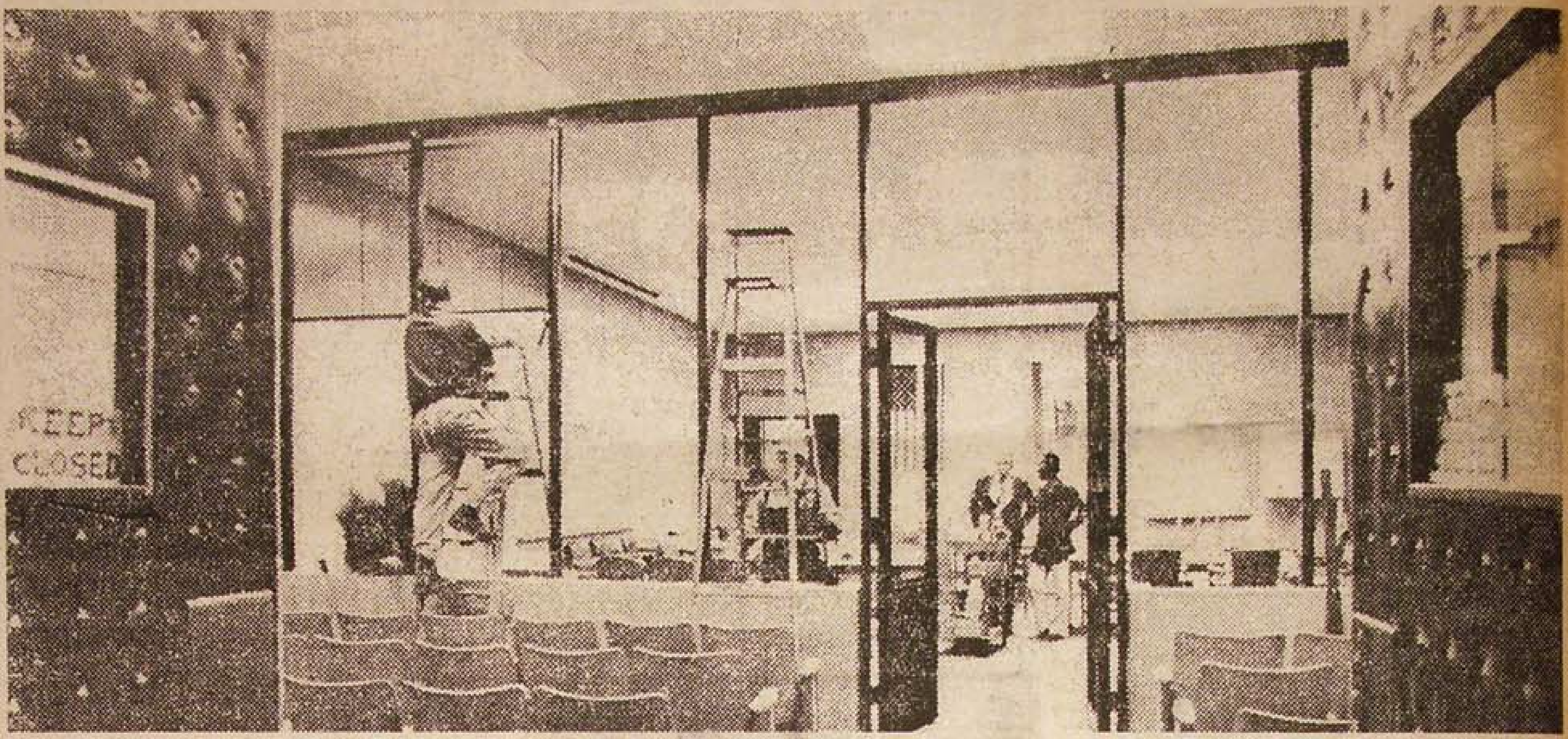
BROTHER JOHN CLUTCHETTE

Brothers (Johnny Larry Spain, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez, David Johnson and Willie Tate) were selected, for similar reasons as those used in selecting George, Fleeta and John. This was becoming a satisfactory pattern to the State: kill and charge the victims.

On August 23rd (1971), the State refused to even halt the Soledad Brothers' trial, even though, if for no other reason, one of the defen-

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TWO YEARS: TWO BROTHERS



The glass cage is still there. Three brothers dead, and one more now. We must say FREE THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS!

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dants was dead. The court wanted to get it over with. For the court, the State, there had never been any real reason to wait, anyway. After some delay, the State drove on to get the remaining two Brothers.

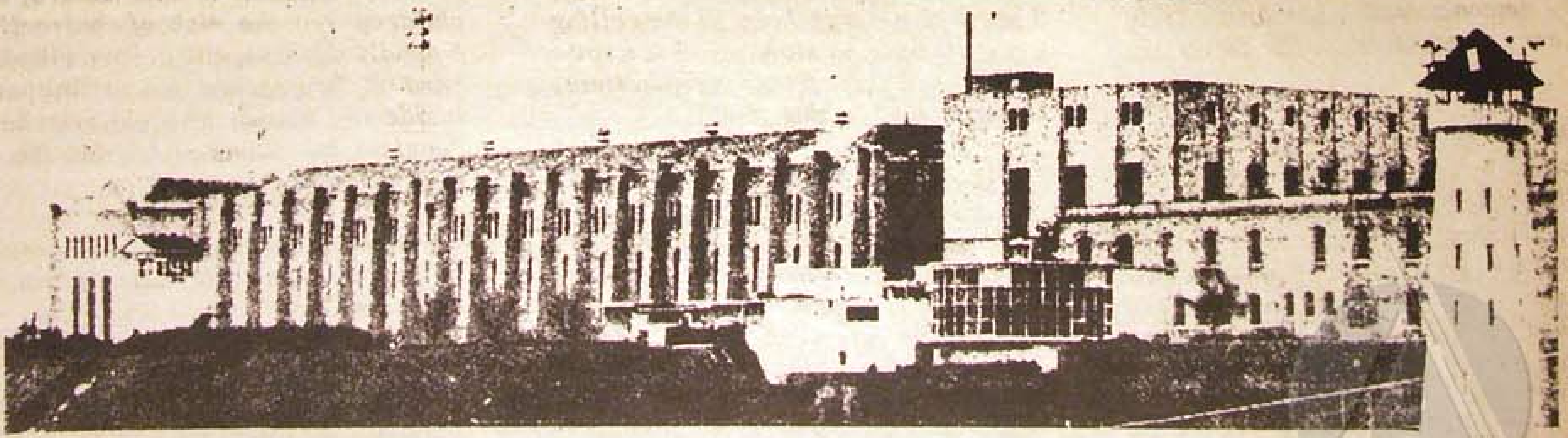
They have been in trial for some time now. During the week of January 3rd (1972), after the court's holiday, the State presented its so-called key witness. Thirty-four year old Thomas R. Yorke, a Black from British Honduras, dragged out for several days his supposed eye-witness account of how Mills had been killed. Although Yorke denies the promise of parole, he is clearly a willing pawn and liar for the State. Yorke had been transported from prison to prison after it became known he would become a State's witness. Yorke, inadvertently, exposed how State pigs create tension and divisiveness among inmates. He stated that at one prison he and others were given baseball bats by prison officials, because, the officials had said, the prison was going to be invaded by "radicals" (a more specific reference was made to the Black Panther Party). As silly as this might seem, this type of act goes on constantly inside the prisons. It is well-related to the insane act, on January 13th, 1970, of putting Blacks and whites together on an exercise yard, at the height of racial tension.

Yorke claims that, while standing nearby, he calmly observed Comrade George beat Mills and eventually hurl the body over a tier; that he saw Brother Fleeta Drumgo punch "at" Mills' face; and that he watched Brother John Clutchette "help" get rid of evidence. What he himself was supposed to be doing is not yet clear. Yorke had originally testified before the grand jury that he had seen nothing. When asked again about whether he was saying these things because he wanted to be paroled, Yorke denied that, however, with the words, "If I were to deny the facts I had already told, I would be a double liar; I would prove to the parole board that I'm really far from rehabilitation."

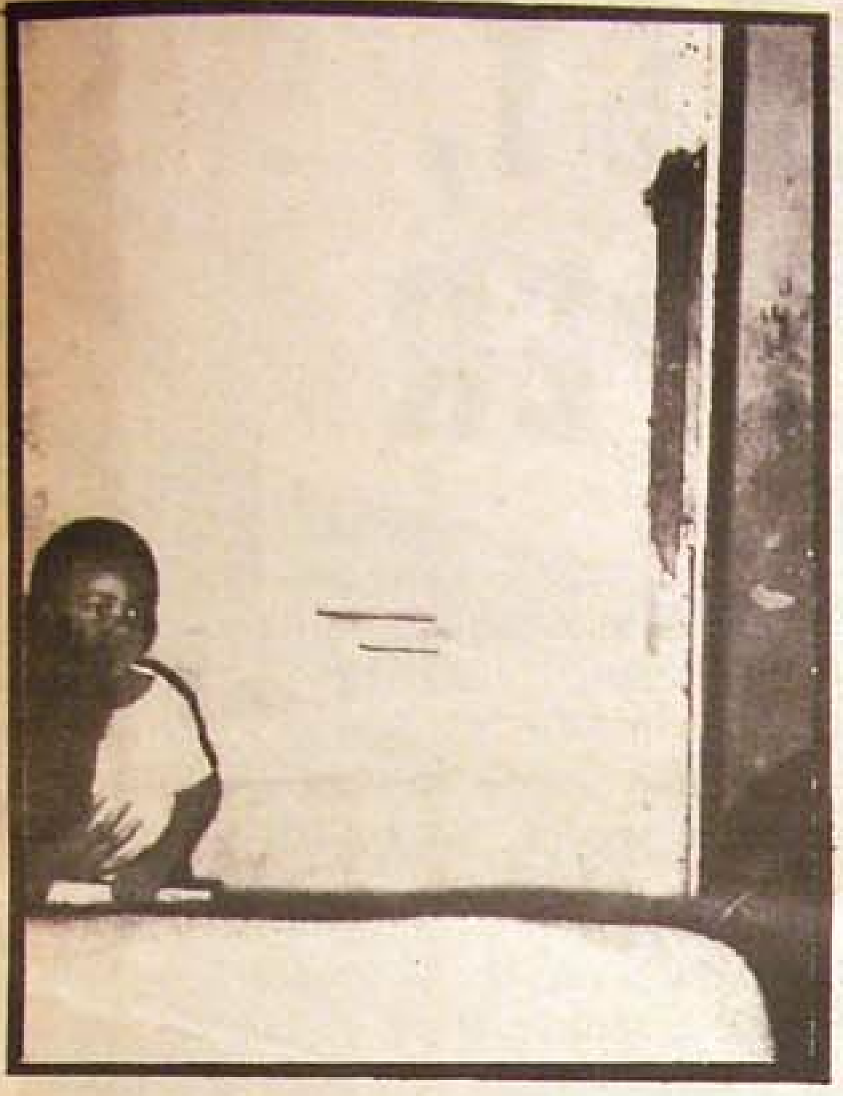
The trial shall continue. Yes, there are only two now. This is even more reason to work hard, to give as much support as possible, to Free the Soledad Brothers!

"Long live the memory of all three who died on January 13th, Comrade Edwards and Comrade Miller and Comrade W. L. Nolen. Let their satisfaction come from the fact that the shots that murdered them were the first in a war to the death with Fascism." George L. Jackson
Field Marshal
Black Panther Party

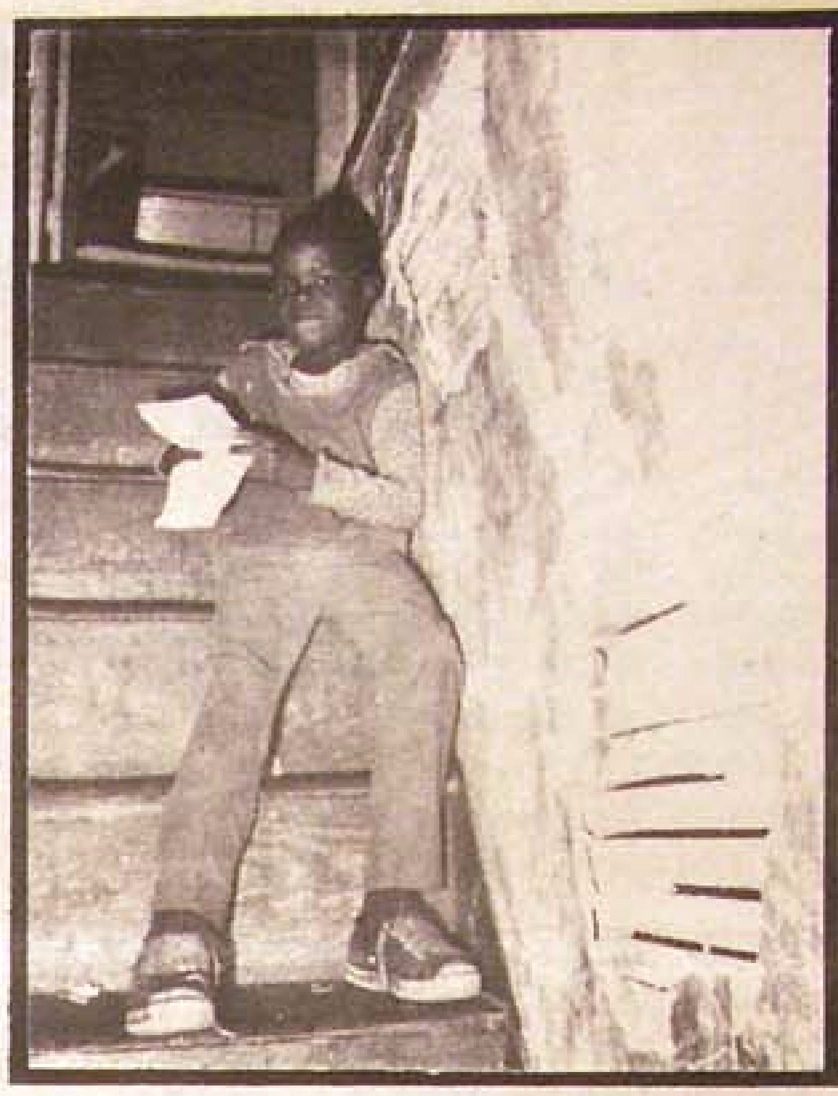
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



GEORGE JACKSON LIVES!







No sink in the kitchen, plaster falling from the walls, no place else to go. The rent man comes faithfully every month.

I'M NOT PAYING FOR THIS!





A rat's nest over the stove and a leaking hole over your bed is worth $60.00 a month.

Eleanor Fields of Baltimore, Maryland, has lived at 212 Vincent Street for the past three years. Practically every household hazard and inconvenience can be found in the Fields' home. Not only is she forced to live there (she is a welfare recipient and can find little better), but she must pay a greedy and unconcerned landlord sixty dollars a month in order to do so.

The only heat in the house is supplied by an inadequate gas heater in the basement that does not have pipes leading to the upper floors. Therefore, only the basement receives heat. In order to get heat throughout the living area of the house, Sister Eleanor must burn the kitchen stove almost continuously. The increased gas bills she must pay cut heavily into her already meager welfare check. Also, there is no kitchen sink; water must be obtained from the basement sink. There is also falling plaster and a leak in the children's room which comes through onto the living room downstairs.

Rats can be heard running inside the walls. Sister Eleanor says that the entire house is infested with them. There is a large hole in the ceiling over the kitchen stove which is a rat's nest; particles from it sometimes fall into the cooking food.

For over a year, now, Sister Eleanor has made repeated requests to slumlord Levy Coleman that repairs be made. A typical slumlord, Coleman has ignored all such requests. He has even refused to provide Eleanor with the plaster and paint to make the repairs herself. She had requested the materials to make the repairs when she realized that he had no intentions of himself making them.

In June, 1971, rather than fix the dilapidated back steps of the house, Coleman simply removed them and put boards (which are very weak) across the back door. The children still play on the back porch although there are no steps. They still play in the filth and rat-infested back yard. In addition to this hazard, the children run the risk of contracting a deadly disease, either from the back yard or the cracked and peeling paint inside the house. The children have constant infections and colds due to such conditions.

Since a final request to Coleman, in September, 1971, that repairs be made on her home, Eleanor has not directly heard from him. Coleman now sends his son or daughter to collect the rent. Three weeks ago, housing inspectors told Sister Eleanor that the house should be con-

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PEOPLE'S PRIEST, BROTHER'S KEEPER

". . . .For I was hungry and you gave me meat: I was thirsty, and you gave me drink: I was a stranger and you took me in: naked, and you clothed me: I was sick, and you visited me: I was in prison and you came unto me." Matthew 25: 35, 36

This quote from the book of Matthew, one of the 66 books of the Christian Bible, is taken from a Christian parable in which Jesus had traveled from place to place in disguise, seeking help and comfort from others. Some people had refused to help him because they did not know who he was. Others had helped him simply because he was a human being in need. The idea the quotation goes on to express is that those who helped him would be rewarded. The lesson drawn from the entire story becomes the Christian ethic or principle that all men, because they are human beings, deserve to be given humane treatment; that it is the responsibility of every human being to cherish the human rights of others. Therefore, when a person has no food, no clothing, no shelter, etc., it is everyman's responsibility to see to it that he gets the things he needs and deserves as a human being.

There are those today who call themselves Christians who do not practice what they "preach". They do not always apply the principle of responding to others' humanity. Although the U.S. government claims to be founded upon Judaeo-Christian ethic, those in the ghettoes of the United States are the last to be considered in the framework of these Christian principles.

The Fillmore district (primarily Black) of San Francisco (California) is one of the most outrageous ghettoes in the United States. The problems of every ghetto are there, the drugs, funneled into the community; the poverty; the hunger. Father Eugene Boyle of the Sacred Heart Parish in San Francisco is an Irish Catholic priest, who has in fact been practicing what he preaches, the Christian ethic, the principles of love and service to all mankind. Although his parish is located in the heart of the Fillmore district, he has had no problem in applying the principle. Under his leadership, Sacred Heart Church has always served the people, body and soul.



FATHER EUGENE BOYLE

Father Boyle is also well respected in the Fillmore community. He practices the principles of brotherhood without patronizing those whom he helps. He has valiantly defied the harassment of the racist San Francisco power structure. Because of his stand, he has been subjected to police intimidation and racist epithets and slurs, some even calling him a "nigger-lover".

Knowing of his long and distinguished service to the people, the San Francisco Branch of the Black Panther Party asked Father Boyle if the facilities at Sacred Heart Church might be made available for the Free Breakfast for School Children Program. This was back in early 1969.

It was during 1969 that some of the most overt and violent attacks were made upon the Black Panther Party. J. Edgar Hoover was busy labeling the Party the "greatest threat to the internal security" of the United States. There were constant police attacks and raids upon Party offices and homes.

Father Boyle was not deterred by these attacks. He readily made the facilities at Sacred Heart available, for he knew that one of the community's most basic and pressing needs, hunger, could be met. In spite of racist innuendos and a smear campaign against him by Joseph Alioto (San Francisco's racist mafioso mayor), he continued to support the Free Breakfast for School Children Program. Even after the San Francisco Branch office (located approximately six blocks from Sacred Heart Church) was attacked and raided by the vicious San Francisco Police Tactical Squad, he fully supported the Breakfast Program.

Father Boyle judged the program by the people it served. If it was in the interests of the poor and oppressed Fillmore community, if it alleviated the sufferings of humanity in any way, then it had Father Boyle's support. When the Black Panther Party initiated Free Food, Shoe and Clothing programs, Father Boyle also made Sacred Heart's facilities available.

There are also many who are Christians who do not apply the principle of brotherhood and man's humanity to man to those in the prisons and jails. They feel that they have "sinned" or committed a wrong act and do not deserve consideration. Father Boyle, however, has shown by example that goodwill and fellowship must be extended to all, including our brothers and sisters in the prison communities. He has often made his church available for meetings of various prison projects and defense committees. On January 13th (1971), a memorial tribute to the three prisoners (W. L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards and Alvin Miller), murdered at Soledad Prison by racist guard O.G. Miller (a year ago that day) was held at Sacred Heart Church.

In May of 1971, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party and Comrade Ericka Huggins, after being incarcerated for two years on false charges, were still in trial. Many had been afraid to testify, to speak out against the injustice under which they were then suffering. Father

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Delaware fascists want no resistance in their little state.

THE SMYRNA EIGHT

Delaware is a racist little state, just barely north of the Mason-Dixon line. It is also a large base for the Duponts, one of the controlling families in the American Corporative ruling circle. Little information has leaked out from this fascist state, which held the Black Community of Wilmington under martial law for over a year after demonstrations (by the Black community) protesting the death of the Reverend Martin Luther King (in 1968).

It is hardly surprising, then, that news of the struggle within the State concentration camps is even more suppressed. Through the Pennsylvania State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, we were able to receive the following letter from brothers who are incarcerated at the Smyrna State Prison in Smyrna, Delaware. Here, below, they describe their struggle to survive the fascist attacks and repressive measures in this Delaware concentration camp:

On September 2, 1971, the captives of Dupont's branch of corporative fascism, liberated the maximum security section of the Smyrna Concentration Camp for approximately four hours. Seizing the building was the only vehicle we had left to expose our grievances to the prison administration and the governor.

In the maximum security building, the guards were locked in with the prisoners, and the only way they could leave the building was for a guard to unlock the door from the outside. During the liberation of the building, the guards, fearing that the violence they had inflicted on the prisoners would boomerang, ran and locked themselves into a cell, crying, "Don't fight them, don't fight them!" Because the objective of the rebellion was to expose our conditions to the people and not to deal a military blow to the state, prisoners were stationed outside the cell of the guards, to insure their safety.

About an hour after the building was liberated, Dupont's fascist pigs arrived in force, spearheaded by the state's military elite, the state troopers and their general, Governor Russell W. Peterson (an ex-Dupont employee). They immediately attacked the building, which is a reflection of the fact that they had no concern for the lives of the guards that were captured inside.

After the failure of this initial attack, the state decided to listen to our grievances, but we wanted to address our grievances to the press, who would have discovered that illegally imprisoned with the inmates were pre-trial and juvenile prisoners, 18 years old and younger. The press, after being denied entry into the building, left. Immediately after they left, the fascists again stormed the building. This time they were successful.

After the building was recaptured and secured, the so-called leaders, the ones who had protected the lives of the guards, were ordered to strip and were brutally beaten. They were ordered to run the gauntlet, in which they received fractured skulls and bones.

The youthful Ronald Payne was beaten in particular. He was beaten unconscious, awakened and beaten unconscious again, and again and again and again. Because he was unable to walk, he was dragged to the punishment cell. He was singled out because a week earlier he, along with comrades David Allison and Gary Watson were charged with assaulting three lackey guards and destroying state property, which the state claimed was done in retaliation for the assassination of the Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, Comrade George Jackson.

Our Comrades were left in the hole for days without medical care until

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With the majority of the country's cars and other motor vehicles being manufactured in Detroit, many people in that city still can't get to the prisons to visit their loved ones.

MOTOR CITY BUSSES ROLLING

There are many prisoners throughout the United States who literally languish in prisons and jails for contact, for letters and for visits from family and friends. Since most prisons are located hundreds of miles away, usually in rural or virtually inaccessible areas, this has been very difficult, if not impossible. The expense and the difficulty in making such a trip has prevented most prisoners' families from even considering a visit.

Realizing the need for transporation, the Black Panther Party initiated a Free Bussing to the Prisons Program for the families and friends of prisoners. In many of our Chapters and Branches, such programs are already under way, serving the community.

On December 23, 1971, the Detroit Branch of the Black Panther Party initiated a Free Bussing to the Prisons Program for the people in Detroit and the communities immediately surrounding Detroit. The first bus trip was to Jackson State Penitentiary.

Forty-five people participated in this first trip. Many were seeing their loved ones and friends for the first time in years. There were children who had never seen their fathers, and uncles and mothers and girlfriends who also made the trip.

The Detroit Branch of the Black Panther Party plans to continue the program on a regular basis with trips to other prisons as well. For further information about future trips, contact the Detroit Branch of the Black Panther Party at: 157 Collingwood Street, Detroit, Michigan; phone (313) 867-7742.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE




The City of Philadelphia is spending millions of dollars to celebrate the anniversary of the last two hundred years of our suffering in this country.

WHAT ABOUT THE FOOD BUDGET?

Why is there hunger in America? Why must the Black Panther Party give away free food in Philadelphia and across the Empire? Why doesn't the United States government do this?

Since World War II, the American government has spent over a trillion dollars on warfare (this is neither a typographical error nor an exaggeration). This one trillion dollar figure includes not only government expenditures for the Vietnam War, but also includes arms sent to U.S. "allies", includes weapons research and development, numerous small-scale wars and "police actions", etc. Forty billion dollars of this could have been used to bring everyone in America up to at least minimum standard of living.

The same people who brought us the Vietnamese War, and other genocidal actions, also burn tons of grain (to keep the prices up); and, people like actor John Wayne and U.S. Senator Eastland, who have large farms and plantations, are paid hundreds of thousands of dollars not to grow crops.

In the State of Pennsylvania, there is a Milk Marketing Board (controlled by the big dairymen), which "legally" sets the price of milk outrageously high, thus depriving the poor of this form of nourishment. Also, the State of Pennsylvania and the City of Philadelphia, in particular, is spending millions of dollars on a Bi-centennial to be held in 1976, to celebrate the anniversary of the last 200 years of our suffering in this country.

There is plenty of money for wars, moonshots, Bicentennials, Senator Eastland, etc. Yet, when the government is confronted with the basic survival needs of the People, we are met with, "The Welfare costs are too high". Faced with the calculated plan of the U.S. ruling class to exterminate us, naturally we cannot hold our breath hoping and waiting for the government to change its priorities.

To insure our survival, we must provide for ourselves our basic needs. On Sunday, December 19th, the Pennsylvania Chapter of the Black Panther Party held a Survival Program Rally. That afternoon, 200 bags of food, containing meat, canned goods, vegetables and bread, were given away. People also received free new shoes, free clothing and free sickle cell anemia tests.

The Program Rally had a strong impact upon those who attended it. In spite of the misconceptions of the Black Panther Party, as portrayed in the news media, the people know that we mean what we say when we state that we are here to serve the People.

For further information about our survival programs, please contact the Community Survival Centers at 261 S. 52nd Street (Sh 7-9873) and 2315 Ridge Avenue (Po 3-4084) and the Mark Clark Free Medical Clinic at 1609 W. Susquehanna Avenue (Po 3-0660).

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Pennsylvania State Chapter
Black Panther Party





To insure our survival, the Pennsylvania State Chapter of the Black Panther Party held a Survival Program Rally, where the people received Free Food, Shoes, Clothing and Tests for Sickle Cell Anemia.

NO HANDS FOR HANRAHAN!

FASCIST CHICAGO MURDERER EDWARD V. HANRAHAN RUNS FOR RE-ELECTION



Richard Daley only pretends at a lover's quarrel with his good friend Ed Hanrahan.



Hanrahan's Daley bread will continue to flow, for he is as faithful to fascism as ever.

Recent events in Chicago have unveiled the most putrid case of political pornography ever produced in the sordid history of the Daley Democratic Machine. Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, who, in 1969 unleashed fourteen of his fascist policemen to carry out the assassinations of Brothers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, is now re-running for the office of State's Attorney. Edward Hanrahan, a Democrat, is not running for re-election on the Democratic ticket. If you are familiar with the Chicago power structure, such things as these come as no surprise. Hanrahan is under indictment for the raid he ordered that took the lives of Fred and Mark. For a public official to even consider running again for office while under indictment is itself an indication of the corruptive caliber of the public Official. For Hanrahan, the act borders on complete absurdity.

Originally, most people thought that the Cook County Democratic Slatemakers would never endorse Edward Hanrahan for re-election. However, the slatemakers are no respecters of the people of Chicago and do not recognize, or choose to ignore the fact that Hanrahan is a murderer. They told Hanrahan to run again, with the blessings of the Democratic Party. After all, to the minds of the slatemakers, it was only two Black men who were murdered; and, had not a number of special grand juries refused to indict Hanrahan on charges of pre-meditated murder? Hanrahan was only charged with "conspiracy to obstruct justice".

Not too long after the Democratic slatemakers gave their stamp of approval to Hanrahan, they completely reversed that decision and withdrew their endorsement in an effort to try and secure the votes of the Black community and guarantee Black support of the Democatic Party during the 1972 March primary elections. They then endorsed another fascist, Judge Raymond Berg, for the office of State's Attorney. Judge Berg is a loyal Democrat and a buddy of Mayor Daley. Evidence of this friendship was manifested in the petitions Berg had to file with City Hall in order to run in the election. Berg needed the signatures of six thousand registered voters on petitions, saying that they (the voters) support his drive for election. Berg did not have enough time to gather the signatures; but he didn't have to worry, because his good friend, Mayor Richard Daley, was busy having downtown employees on the city payroll forge the signatures of over 20,000 registered voters in Chicago. Now Berg is running for the office of State's Attorney. If he were to win, it would be his responsibility to stop such acts from occurring. When he was told about the forged signatures his only reply was, "I know nothing about any forged signatures; I only filed them."



BROTHER FRED HAMPTON was just one more Black man to Hanrahan. Why should he now be punished, he asks, after murdering so many more.

And what of Ed Hanrahan, he is still State's Attorney up until the new elections, though he has made no effort to do his job. One such job would be to prosecute all those responsible for the forged signatures, namely the Daley machine. Hanrahan's refusal to prosecute only shows that he is very much the loyal Democrat. His allegiance to Daley remains as strong as ever.



Hanrahan ordered his troops to "bring him in DEAD."



BROTHER MARK CLARK never even opened the door. There was no knock.

Hanrahan recently held a press conference to explain why he would seek re-election, and, believe it or not, here is what he said: "If I don't seek re-election as State's Attorney, that would be the Black Panther's biggest propaganda victory. I don't intend to give them that victory, and I don't believe you want them to have it." This madman further stated that, "Some politicians want me off the ticket because they don't think Black people will vote for me. This is an insult to the intelligence of Black people. Let them make their own decision. They know better than anyone else that no previous State's Attorney has done so much to protect them from street gangs and other criminals who terrorize them and their neighborhoods." It is hard to



Hanrahan wants the voters to re-elect him, although two years ago he tried to tell them that nail heads were bullet holes.

conceive Hanrahan, a racist and a butcher of Black people, actually making these statements about what he has done for the Black community, for we, the victims of Hanrahan's terrorism, know his practices full well in the Black community. Here is the record he suggests the people examine:

(1) In 1968 many Chicago street gangs participated in a no-vote campaign. At that time, the general consensus of the Black community was, "Why vote when there is no one worth voting for?" Statistics show that this campaign was a major reason why the Democrats lost heavily in the State of Illinois during the 1968 presidential elections. Then along came Edward Hanrahan, who immediately began a war on street gangs, bringing a total of 125 indictments against gang members in the period of one year. It is important to note that the indictments charged the gang members for the most part with crimes against the "establishment", not crimes against the Black community.

(2) Hanrahan's reputation of being feared by organized crime is false. Never, at any time, has he arrested and gained conviction of the real leaders of organized crime, such as big time narcotics dealers and crooked politicians.

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NO HANDS FOR HANRAHAN!

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(3) His "unholy alliance" with the Cook County coroner's office. Chicago has almost three times as many killings by police each year as any other comparably large city. Never do these killings result in indictments against the police, because Hanrahan always "recommends" a finding of justifiable homicide to the coroner's jury.

(4) Ninety percent of the convictions accredited to Hanrahan's office were obtained only when the mostly Black defendants were persuaded to plead guilty on a lesser charge than the original one.

(5) Hanrahan sending a death squad of fourteen policemen to assassinate Fred Hampton, while he slept in bed, and Mark Clark.

In short, Hanrahan's record is one of complete political corruption, a record of racist jailings of Black youths and merciless, barbaric murders of Black people. For him to want the Black community to examine this record only shows exactly how sick and arrogant he is. Black people have had to bear the brunt of Hanrahan's record ever since he took office.

On Thursday, December 23rd, the Black Panther Party held a press conference in reply to Edward Hanrahan's foolish statements and his decision to run for re-election. The following is the statement delivered by Bobby Rush, Deputy Minister of Defense and Coordinator of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party:

"The delirium of the murderer Edward V. Hanrahan was again manifested yesterday when he took occasion to engage in specious (pleasing but deceptive) rhetoric designed to convince fairminded people that he is, was not ever, and never will be guilty of a crime. Mr. Hanrahan suffers from the severest form of illusion because he feels that the indictments that are now pending against him originated from the Black Panther Party. He should study those indictments because they read, 'Edward V. Hanrahan vs. The People of the State of Illinois', not Edward V. Hanrahan vs. the Black Panther Party. Mr. Hanrahan's inanity (emptiness) and insanity become crystal clear as he attempts to reduce the murder of two Black men, and, consequently, the mandate of Black people, to a kind of chimerical (imaginary) 'propaganda' victory. The Black Panther Party would not consider Mr. Hanrahan, a murderer, not being a candidate for any political office a victory whatsoever. A victory celebration will only occur when Black people have been liberated from the bloodsucking, murderous clutches of the Daley regime.

"For months we have observed the activities of the Daley administration in its attempts to obstruct justice. The corrupticians of the Democratic Party have resorted to the type of treachery that is characteristic of any repressive, putrescent (decaying) regime. The murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the guile demonstrated in the events that occurred afterwards are salient (conspicuous) examples of that treachery.

"The confusion being generated by these corrupticians and their history of callousness toward the Black community dictates that we unite with



COMRADE BOB RUSH



Deputy Chairman, FRED HAMPTON / Comrade MARK CLARK

those of our people who will participate in the elections of 1972. The Black Panther Party will waste no more time engaging in rhetoric about Mr. Hanrahan. He stands convicted a murderer in the eyes of Black people. We will organize a voter registration and education campaign. We will concentrate as much energy on education as we will on registration. We will educate our people to insure that they will not again fall victim to the wolf in sheep's clothing, the Democratic Party."

The Daley power machine wants us to believe that he and Hanrahan have split, over the vote in the Black community. Hanrahan's Daley bread will be as much a staple for him in the future, as it has been in the past. The fact is that Daley just realized that Hanrahan's murderous exploits, namely the out-right assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, are well-known in the Black community and that the community's indictment of him is firm. He is a convicted murderer. Therefore, Daley has merely carried out his order to try and save face and the Democratic machine, by: (1) refusing to openly endorse a murderer; and (2) by making it appear he and Hanrahan are at opposite ends of the pole. This is not even a lover's quarrel, but another act of treachery to try and again deceive the Black community. We, therefore, urge those of you directly affected to begin to implement Hanrahan's conviction by registering to vote. Vote against the Butcher, Edward Hanrahan.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Illinois State Chapter
Black Panther Party



Poor whites in St. Louis have been raised to hate Blacks. Some of them now read the "Black Panther" newspaper.



The common needs, such as for clothing, are reminders of the common enemy.



The U.S. government never expected such signatures on the petition to FREE DAVID HILLIARD.

ALL WHITE, NOT ALL RIGHT





When the Free Clothing Program was implemented in this area, where it seemed nobody cared how you stayed warm, many changes came with it.

The Soulard Market area of St. Louis, Missouri, is a poor white community. It is located four blocks from the Peabody, Webbe, Darst Housing Project, which is one of the strictly - controlled concentration camps for the Black community. Yet, the people in Soulard have no idea what the Black community is all about. Racism is the basic tool used by the oppressor to divide and thereby conquer - all of us. The ruling class creates and perpetuates myths about the Black community primarily to assure continuance of an oppressed population, to be used when and in whatever capacity it is needed, to benefit the oppressor. An important by-product of this basic principle of capitalist society is to give poor whites a false sense of superiority and security. The well-planned result is that poor people unleash their frustrations on each other, being blinded as to their real (and common) enemy: the ruling class, the exploiters of us all, the only ones who win when we fight each other. All poor people have the same needs: enough food, warm clothes, adequate housing and medical care, and control of the institutions which fulfill those needs and daily affect our lives. The Survival Programs being implemented in the Black community by the Black Panther Party are the same programs that are needed in poor white communities throughout this Empire. When they are offered, the people begin to recognize their friends as opposed to their common enemy.

The Soulard Market area is set in the midst of three huge corporations: Monsanto Chemicals, Ralston Purina and Anheuser-Busch. Most of the people living there, however, surrounded by these immensely wealthy industrial complexes, are unemployed. Many exist on welfare checks for the permanently and totally disabled. In October (1971), the Welfare Department, knowing the difficulty of disabled people to fight back, cut these checks by 5%, so that the maximum amount received from the State is $76.00 a month. Needing that meager sum to feed large families, the fear, enveloping the people of Soulard as the bitterly cold winter approached, was too little fuel and not enough, if any, warm clothing.

The Intercommunal Survival Committee to Combat Fascism (ISCCF), working in this area, while participating in a survey conducted by the Welfare Rights Organization to determine what could be done to meet the needs of the people, talked to many of the residents. With housing conditions the way they are, it costs a fortune (when your monthly income is $76.00) to heat the flimsy apartments. With gas bills going up and welfare checks being cut, the people told us there was no money for clothing. It is a fact that the State, tool of this Empire (the richest the world has ever known) will do nothing to feed, clothe or house its people. We recognize that we, the people, must develop the institutions necessary for our survival. The people told us what the need was, and, armed with the knowledge that only the people themselves could fulfill that need, the ISCCF recently implemented a People's Free Clothing Program.

This was the first survival program to be implemented in the Soulard area and the people responded with the awareness that it was their program. Young brothers and sisters from the community helped in several ways: they leafletted the area, helped set up the tables and racks, and participated in the clean-up before and after the event. It was held in a centrally-located backyard and the people brought bags for the clothes and hot coffee and helped each other find correct sizes. The people then got together and made plans to collect clothing for the next program and to discover what were their neighbors' needs to survive the cold weather. The clothes, enough, we thought, for a 4-hour program, were gone in an hour. This is an

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The Soulard Market District is for whites only. Some people used to say, "If you're white, you're right."

ALL WHITE, NOT ALL RIGHT

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on-going program and will be held once a month, in the hope that everyone in the area will be provided with all the clothing they need. The generosity of one family in the community will enable the program to be held in-doors after this, so that weather conditions will not stop it from functioning.

The ISCCF is an organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party, working in the poor white community. The truth about the Black community is distorted by the mass media. We recognize the necessity of building an understanding between the poor communities throughout this Empire and are totally committed to that goal. One of the best ways to do this is to distribute the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service in white communities, because it is only in this political organ that the truth about this Empire and its inherent racism is constantly put forth with concrete examples and analyses. This is why we gave away hundreds of issues of the Paper during the clothing program.

Many people, being given information about Chief of Staff David Hilliard, were able to see clearly, for the first time, how the court system is used to imprison effective political organizers. Recognizing the need to have David back with us, many people immediately volunteered to sign the petition demanding his parole.

The clothing program is the first of many survival programs we are trying to bring to the Soulard area. When we develop an awareness of each other's needs and also work together to develop the institutions - under our control - which will fulfill them, nothing will be able to divide us and we will build a society where no one will be hungry, no will be without adequate clothing and housing and no one will die in senseless wars which kill our youth and add to the already bulging pockets of the rich.

We urge people in the St. Louis area to aid in the People's Free Clothing Program by bringing clean, warm clothes, blankets, bedding, children's clothes to the Outlaw Office, 554 Limit (just off Delmar, one block west of Skinker), Monday through Saturday, from 1:00 to 5:00 pm; or call 535-6947 for further information.

UNITY IN THE COMMUNITY
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Intercommunal Survival Committee to Combat Fascism

PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT

Do you have access to any of the following photographic equipment, to aid in better developing pictures for our weekly newspaper:

Besseler 23C Enlarger
Automatic Print Dryer
Flood Lights
Lenses for a Nikon (F) Camera

If you know how we can get such equipment donated, or at low cost, please contact:

Central Headquarters
Black Panther Party
1048 Peralta Street
Oakland, California 94607
(415) 465-5047

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

I'M NOT PAYING FOR THIS!



Your children can play on this back porch with no steps...

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demned. They also warned her that the house would burn to the ground in five minutes if it ever caught afire.

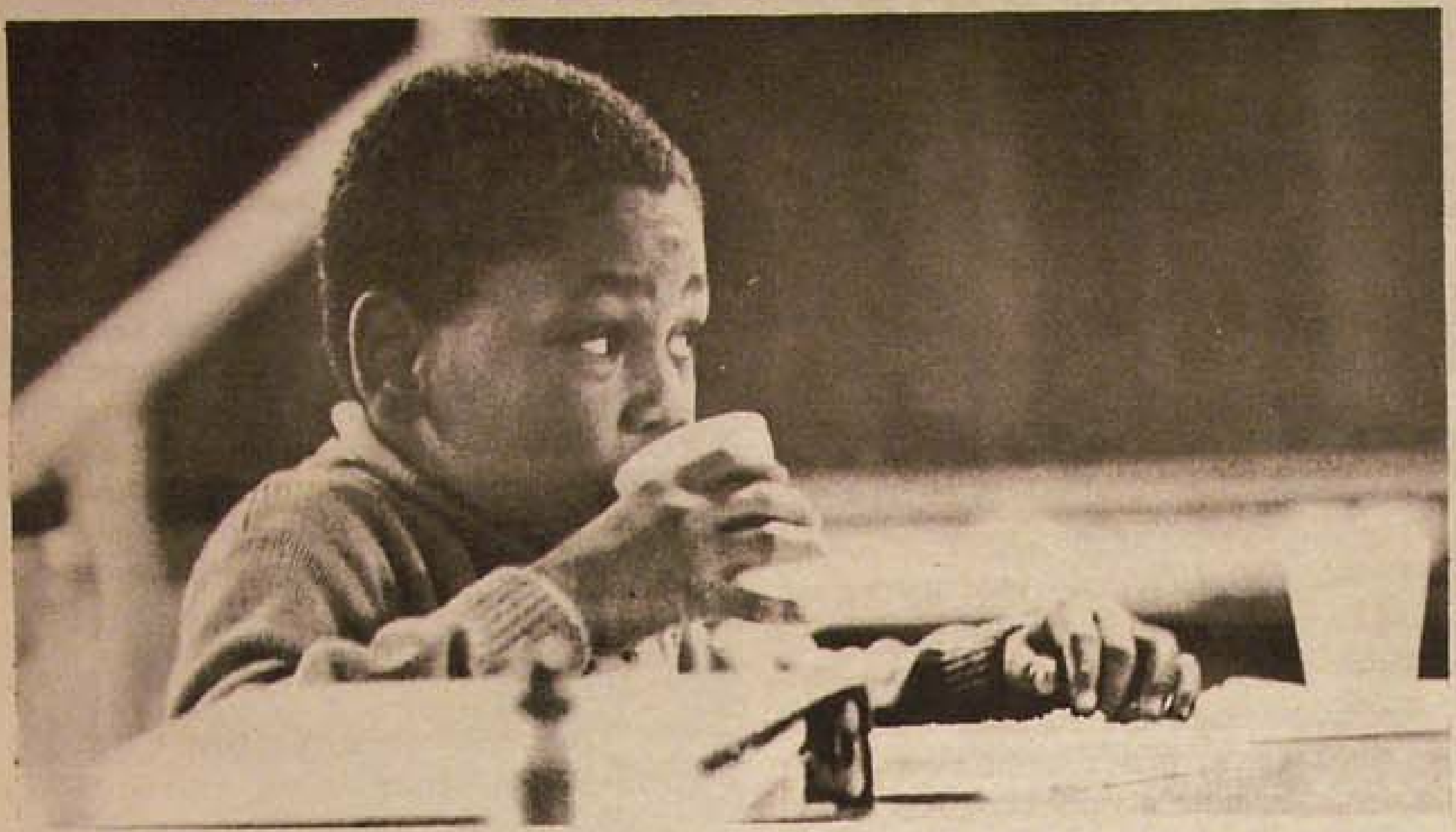
However, Eleanor Fields has not been defeated by such conditions. She refuses to believe that she has to live under such conditions, much less, pay for them. A tenants' union in Baltimore has been formed to fight such slumlords as Levy Coleman, and such inhuman conditions. Also, Eleanor has an attorney and is presenting her case against Coleman in court. The Maryland State Chapter of the Black Panther Party and the Baltimore Black community stand united and in support of Eleanor Fields in her fight for decent housing.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Maryland State Chapter
Black Panther Party



Or, they can run the risk of contracting a deadly disease in the filth and rat-infested backyard.

PEOPLE'S PRIEST, BROTHER'S KEEPER



Father Boyle's church graciously housed the Free Breakfast Program, perhaps with the thought, "Let the Children first be filled."

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Boyle flew to New Haven, Connecticut, and testified at the trial in Chairman Bobby's behalf.

All of these activities have not served to make Father Boyle popular with the power structure. Neither has his stand against the War in Vietnam, because he desires true peace and brotherhood among men, made him popular with the U.S. Government. However, the harassment and scare tactics have not swayed Father Boyle in the least, to turn against his fellowmen. Because he is dedicated and committed to his beliefs and convictions, he has continued to support the programs and efforts to serve as well as save humanity.

It was only fitting that Father Boyle was recently named to the position of National Director of Justice and Peace of the National Federation of Priests' Councils. He has become known throughout the Bay Area for his ardent struggle for justice and equality. Father Boyle's new position will require that he move to Chicago, Illinois, and, as such he will be able to serve even more people.

He will naturally be missed in the Fillmore community. However, we know that his spirit and love for the people will remain. We also know that wherever he goes, Father Eugene Boyle will serve the People.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE SMYRNA EIGHT

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medium security building threatened to bring the walls down! We realized that we were suffering from conditions that equally affected us all, that we were class brothers, regardless of race. This is the way we moved and this is the way we were attacked...

Fearing that these correct methods would diffuse into the rest of the prison population, a counter-attack has taken shape, initiated not by the prison, but by the State. Their weapon is the law, reflected in the facts that:

Frederick Donophan, 21 and Ronald Payne, 19, have three charges of kidnapping, assault and battery; David Allison, 20, three charges of kidnapping, one charge assault; Leron Baucom, 24, assault and battery, one charge; John Wierzbick, 28, three charges of kidnapping, assault and battery, two charges; Daniel Carran, 25, three charges, kidnapping, assault and battery, two charges; William Bender, 27, malicious mischief, one charge; Glen Wilgus, three charges kidnapping, and aid kidnapping, one charge.

In the corporate controlled state of Delaware, kidnapping and aiding kidnapping both carry a mandatory life sentence. A life sentence in Delaware is 45 years. These men are not guilty, but they will receive no justice from the state. For the state not only invented the charges, they are the ones who will try the charges.

The state conducted an investigation into the charges of brutality that took place. This report exposed the demagoguery of Governor Russell Peterson, who stated that he inspected the prisoners after the rebellion, and the only wound he saw was something that resembled a mosquito bite.

Two agent provacateurs were sent into maximum security to combat the high revolutionary calm and unity that manifested itself in the practices of our Comrades held captive there. Their weapon was racism; and, on December 5, 1971, they were dealt a righteous political consequence. They now lay disabled in the prison hospital.

Our struggle for survival continues. At present, the prisoners of Smyrna Concentration Camp are on strike. We are striking because the indictment handed down for brutality wasn't equal to the number of participants. Only two boot-licking "niggers" were indicted. Not only did the camp administrators, Director of Adult Corrections, John J. Moran; Raymond W. Anderson, Chief Tier Officer; and Chief Redman, participate in the beatings, they ordered them. Along with them were numerous guards, maintenance men, state troopers, guards from every prison in the state of Delaware, and kitchen workers. The Governor, who pretended ignorance of the beatings, was right outside the building. We know he heard the blood curdling screams that followed.

To combat the strike, the prison cut all our communications and redefined our strike to the public, not as a work strike, but a food strike, and refused to feed us. At present, they are trying to starve us out.

A revolutionary teaches by examples and we the captured men, women and children held captive in Amerika's concentration camps are examples to Amerika and the world that the concentration camp technique won't work on us.

FROM THE PRISONS WE SHALL COME FOR POWER!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

SOUTH KOREA'S SAN QUENTIN

The southern half of Korea (below the 38th Parallel), like the northern half, belongs to the Korean people. After the aggressive U.S. war against the Korean people, this division was made. Those Koreans in the North (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) live a fruitful and plentiful life, under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung. All the 40 million Koreans inside the country wish to live such a life. However, since the war, the U.S. has dominated the southern half of their country, under the phoney banners of "protecting world peace and democracy", "fostering freedom". Of course, this is all done by friends of the U.S., a U.S. controlled, or puppet government. The president of that government, Pak Jung Hi, is so in love with his racist American masters that he not only oppresses his own people in their name, but for the convenience of the master, he lets himself be known as "Chung Hee Park". (It was said that his Korean name was too difficult for the American people to remember.)

We, here in the U.S., particularly Black and other oppressed people, are well familiar with the old American tradition in which the U.S. racist government deceitfully runs and controls our communities by paying off some of our own, to be then held up as "models" of what we ought to be. In this country, whenever an oppressed person decides he will not be ruled, his community will not be dominated or controlled (either indirectly or directly) by any other than the people themselves, he is usually arrested or killed.

Following the suit of his American masters, Pak Jung Hi (and, like most lackeys, he tries to be more American than an American) also uses fascist, repressive measures against his people, whenever there is even the slightest hint of disagreement with his policies. The Atticas and San Quentins exist all over the world, everywhere the U.S. has any influence. In South Korea, the prisons overflow with political prisoners, who endure the most barbaric treatment for the slightest "suspicion".

One such case is that of Brother Suh Sung (a Korean originally born in Japan). We received this information through his defense committee and others, who, for their own safety, must remain anonymous. His tragedy and suffering are merely representative of the thousands incarcerated in South Korean prisons; are representative of the millions around the world, all of whom must be set free:



BROTHER SUH SUNG (far right) has suffered, in South Korea, similar barbarities as the political prisoners here in the U.S. They have the same warden, Richard Nixon.

December 19, 1971

Brothers and Sisters:

This letter is to ask you to initiate any possible action in the United States that would help enable the Korean political prisoners, recently arrested and sentenced to death, to secure life and freedom. Suh Sung, 26, and his 22 year-old brother, Suh Choon Shik, were arrested along with 34 other students in Seoul and 15 others in Pusan, South Korea, on April 20th (this year). They were charged for suspected espionage activities for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the Army Security Headquarters of South Korea announced that the students were ordered to organize demonstrations against military training of the students and the third election of President "Park", and that the others were conspiring the assassination of government high officials.)

The Suh brothers were born and raised in Kyoto, Japan, as one of the 700,000 Koreans living in Japan. The Koreans were kidnapped by the Japanese imperialists during the Japanese occupation of Korea and forced to join the Japanese army as one of the "Emperor's children" to fight other oppressed peoples of Asia as well as their peers. After Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, the objective conditions did not allow many of them to go back to their homeland, among which was the Korean War, conspired by the U.S. and Japanese imperialists.

After graduating from the Tokyo University of Education, Suh Sung entered the Seoul University Graduate

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SOUTH KOREA'S SAN QUENTIN

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School in 1968, and Suh Choon Shik entered the University after graduating from a high school in Kyoto. They have South Korean nationality (most of the 700,000 Koreans in Japan do not have Japanese citizenships) and they say they are studying in Korea to contribute to the development of their people.

The District Prosecutor's Office of Seoul demanded death to the Suh brothers and Chi Il Chung (who is running a boarding house) and the sentence was death to Suh Sung and Chi Il Chung, and 15 years in prison to Suh Choon Shik. Their charges were violation of the State Security Law and Anti-Communist Law. The Prosecutor's Office says Suh Sung went to the DPRK for espionage training in 1968 and then entered the Seoul University Graduate School for spy activities. They say he went to the DPRK again in 1970, summer, with his younger brother and came back to Seoul with a "mission".

The Park regime, puppet of the U.S. and Japanese imperialists, has been revealing the fascist nature of its internal control year after year with the growth of revolutionary and opposing forces in the South Korea. South Korea has now become an indispensable anti-communist fort for the Imperialists--U.S. and Japanese -- and for their subservient allies, Taiwan and South Korea government. U.S. imperialists took advantage of the defeat of Japanese imperialism and militarism in World War II and took over the economic, political and military control of the Far East and South east Asia, by gradually gaining over the reactionary forces of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam.

By now, of all the followers of the U.S. imperialists, Japan has become the most powerful, dangerous, and invasive, and the counterrevolutionary forces of Japan have come to replace the role of the U.S. in Asia, as a result of the growing internal and external economic, political and social crisis of the U.S.A. It has



become impossible now to talk about South Korea and Taiwan without referring to the existing counter-revolutionary partnership between their governments and the reactionary forces of Japan. The most serious and shameless practice of it is the "immigration and emigration control system" of the Japanese government to oppress the life and rights of Korean and Chinese residents in Japan. It is a fact known to every one that there is a concentration camp of Koreans in Japan where the fascists confine Korean "illegal" immigrants and political prisoners, and that according to agreements between the Japanese and Korean and Taiwanese governments that a Korean or Chinese national who does anything in Japan, against the laws of his country, would be deported to their country for trial.

A number of South Koreans and Chinese (with Formosan nationality) have been deported and sentenced to heavy penalties back home, including death, in the past few years.

The case of the Suh brothers is not, seemingly, another of such cases, but it is, substantially. Both the Japanese and South Korean governments made an example of the brothers so that the other Korean people in Korea and in Japan would not dare to do or express anything against the South Korean military government. So they are political prisoners in all respects.

There is no factual proof, submitted to the court in Seoul, of the brothers having been to the DPRK for espionage training and received orders, except for their "confession". This implies a great possibility that the brothers were physically forced to make "confessions" by torture. Actually, Suh Sung is seriously burned on the belly, chest, face, arms and palms, and his ears are hard to distinguish. His eyebrows and eyelashes are burned, and (his) eyelids are burned, though now healed up. It is even hard to distinguish him from the features. Though the South Korean police authorities told their mother, who went to observe the judgement, that Suh Sung attempted a suicide by jumping onto an oil stove, it is quite doubtful whether or not there was an oil stove in jails in Seoul.

After the sentence on Oct. 22, the brothers entered an appeal to the higher court (to be the last). The AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL decided after a research, to deal with this case and will assign a law specialist to work for them in Seoul. If the brothers get the same sentence in the higher court in April of the coming year (1972), Suh Sung will be executed within 6 months since then.....

In the case of the Suh brothers we can and should be effective for saving the brothers' life and freedom for the liberation of all political prisoners.

Write about them in paper, leaflets, posters. Speak and make appeals about them whenever possible. Organize demonstrations to South Korean Embassy and demand them to respect human rights. Make petitions and collect signatures and give pressure to the South Korean government.

Your action is the greatest encouragement for the Suh brothers and alll the political prisoners in South Korea.

All Power to the People!
Free All Political Prisoners!

International Committee to Free the Suh Brothers

CUT HERE



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94607

MISERY MISERY! AIN'T WE GOT A RIGHT TO THE TREE OF LIFE?

